1: Messing E-5 (1953-1954)1957 MP5 Amhara MP5

463 prestige involved is slight--occurring only if there is
464 kinfolk nearby shamed by such manual labor. It is on a social level with the gathering of kosso-bark by a poor Amhara woman.

463 [324] Some farmers have a part-time specialty of fashioning the stone used as mano by the housewife when she grinds grain. They are called "wäqäri". No shame is involved; it is considered like a hobby, like whittling away at wood.

[693 554] Some heads of farming families are adept at "talking well in court" for which they achieve great prestige--the major method of achieving prestige. They are called "täbäqa" lawyers, and not full-time specialists since all they can expect, if they win the case, is a bellyful of barley beer or an occasional gift, but they are guests of honor at the victory feasts and "men of reknown".

[23] A large number of semi-specialists fall into the category of caretakers, "täbaqi". Cowherds and shepherds, if they are grown men not useful at anything else, are included in this category.

463 265 Part-time employment is found by the former feudal chamberlain, "agafari", at big weddings of landholding peasants or in towns. They act as caterers, order the bread, meat, beer, mead, etc. They are experts at headwaiting, and know just whom to seat at what table or around which "mäsob", according to rank, and they indicate to each servant to whom to serve beer and to whom the more expensive and more noble mead. This was

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463 once a noble profession, requiring much intelligence
265 and training, but now a handsome cash gift, partly for the wedded couple and partly as a tip, can introduce a non-prestigeful guest to the table of the nobles. The profession has thus dropped to the level of the itinerant musician, the "azmari", and brings neither prestige nor any particular shame.

463 A still honorable semi-specialization is that of
532 the painter of religious or religious-royal themes in the church, the "seel-sali". He is often a layman loosely attached to the church, who learned his craft while attending church school and then apprenticed himself to a master painter. He is often hired by an individial landlord or well-to-do, often aging, pious Amhara man or noble lady, who wish to make this gift to the church and often order the painter to paint in a small, modest likeness of themselves or their recently departed parents. (See section of art).

464 The third category of "damoz"[1] labor is traditionally found in the rural areas primarily in the case of the temporary marriage. The availability of ex-slaves rarely makes it necessary to hire on any but temporary agricultural labor, for it would be too expensive and difficult to hire Amhara labor. There is, however, a type of day laborer, "hwayatänya", or simply "seratänya" (worker), who is now paid about 2Eth$1.- a day, and can be hired for some temporary job without the other involvements, sich as leave for church holidays and kin-visiting. A poor Amhara will sometimes hire on for some ready cash,

[1] [i.e. "temporary" - see p.215, cat.116. -Analyst]

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357 his task is fixed in advance and if an Amhara he will
466 usually refuse to carry out any work for which he was
[E62] not engaged. Women servants usually receive half the salary of a male servant. Thus only officials and relatively high-income urbanites can afford Amhara servants; servants of socially lower groups can be hired for considerably less, if themaster is willing to forego the prestige of having Amhara servants.

The urban householder, who is not surrounded by kinfolk in his residence, usually must hire a night watchman, "zebanya", who sleeps huddled in coarse shammas in front of the house or behind the outer gate. They receive the wage of day laborers. Often they are old veterans of former feudal soldiery, too decrepit for any other work, yet still fierce-looking and fierce-tongued enough to discourage thieves.

265 Urban teahouses, coffeehouses and mead-houses
466 employ waiters, "asalafi", who do not have the specialization of the more prestigeful "agafari", but who have steadier jobs. Their pay is not above that of the day laborer, but they can accumulate cash more readily.

[463] During the present generation a new element of
875 modern-educated clerks, teachers, hospital "dressers" and
871 government officials is gradually entering the occupational pattern of the town, though still in very small percentages. A graduate of the traditional church school of the rural areas is considered to have only the equivalent of 2 grades of elementary school. All towns now have at least one modern elementary school with 8

632 Since the town attracted the most clever "däbtära",
[799] many of whom were herbologists, it was also a center where "medical aid", sometimes quite effective, could be obtained, and attracted patients from far and wide.

[463] Ethnic craftsmen would settle in hamlets within walking distance of the town, to provide iron tools, tanned leather, sun umbrellas, etc., without, however, exposing themselves to mockery, insults and occasional assaults by living in the town itself.

632 517 The town developed as a social center, and center for entertainment, almost inevitably. First, religious feasts such as the Epiphany parades and the tournaments on the public commons on "ganna" (Christmas) attracted the populace; and youngsters as well as adult loafers found themarket scenes fascinating. Secndly, the Arab traders liked to discuss business and news over tea or coffee. So "teahouses " (shay bet") sprang up near the Saturday market, serving snacks also to many a male at odds with his wife, and excluding all womenfolk. Con-
● [265] 632 versely, the mead house, ("tej bet") provided evening 648 588 entertainment with female singers and dancers (azmari) for the all-male clientele, and waitresses easily available for sexual entertainment. Moreover, every town had at least one "street of unattached women", who catered to travellers or visiting peasants as innkeepers, restaurateurs, and as temporary wives; they were usually divorcees, who hoped to find another husband, and to settle down again to regular married life.

632 178 Except for some of the feudal arrangements, most of this town pattern of social organization is still

275 487 is served with it. Traders and travellers often stop by during the day, and the place usually closes not long after sundown.

275 487 265 The barley-beer house ("talla byet") is still fairly respectable for people of commoner and lower classes, but not for respected elders or priests. It is operated by women, either matronly married women or "unattached girls", i.e. divorcees. It serves not only as dispenser of beer, but also serves full meals, so that the travelling trader is dependent on it. For as little as Eth. $0.25 (U.S. 10 cents) the patron may obtain a minimal meal of enjara bread, 2 liters of talla beer, and all the roast chickpeas and roasted barley ("qolo") he can eat; meatstew costs more. Often such a restaurant contains an extra room with a bed for the weary traveller to sleep in, and such an inn is then called "meshta byet" (lit. accommodation house, from "mesht" or "mest", meaning wife), for the traveller has no difficulty in securing a temporary wife for the duration of his local stay, among the divorcees.

275 548 The mead-house ("taj byet") does not even have the minimal respectability of the talla byet. It is operated strictly for entertainment, i.e. drinking and sexual pleasures. For the owner, usually a clever, middleaged townswoman, it represents one of the few ways of amassing capital and becoming one of the wealthiest local citizens. She controls her waitresses much as a madam would. To protect herself from brawls, which are not infrequent, she also employs, - though they are kept out of sight so as not to frighten off customers, - one or several husky bouncers. The proverb says:

[539]

"In the prostitute's house,

all the time a scuffle."

For, even in prostitution a pretense of "temporary wife" is made.